

613
162EILAT AGGARY AND ITS CONSTITUENT BAITS

<u>BAIT</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ADULT MALES (Sayems)</u> ¹	<u>AQILA</u>
Eweidha (El-Burg)*	28	Ta'eb
Eweidha (El-Alamein)*	31	Selouma
Yusef**	30	Suliman
Helleis	22	Hussein
(El-Asabei')	(56)	(Shei'eb)
Abdel Hamid*	20	Haj Musa
Risq**	30	Yadem
Afash	25	Nayer
Daghas**	25	Daghash
Bul-Yazid*	21	Haj Shousha
Makhyum**	23	Abdel fattah
Hussein**	17	Masri
El-Ramly**	25	Salem
Rashwan**	30	Rashwan
Attya*	31	Masu'd
Abdella*	22	Abdel Galil

1 Numbers are taken from the Amar list which is used to distribute the amount of bloodmoney on the various baits. An adult male or "sayem" is anyone 15 years of age or older. The word "sayem" means fasting individual and the age of 15 is when a child is forced to observe the duties of fasting.

Refers to adopted tribal segments (Muktatibeen).

Baits of doubted origin. Some claim these baits are adopted, while others insist that they are Awlad Ali proper.

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4 ORIGIN AND EXPANSION OF THE SANUSIYA

*795 which the soul experiences God. It is suffused with knowledge:
786 not with 'ilm, intellectual and traditional knowledge, but with
[785] ma'rifa, gnosis, wisdom. The Grand Sanusi and his successors
very strongly disapproved of external aids to this end, such as
processions, music, movements of the body inducing convul-
sions, piercing the flesh with sharp implements, and such other
means as are used by some Orders, and steered a middle course
between the illuminative, or intuitive, school of Sufi writers and
the rational, or intellectual, school. Thus Sayyid Ahmad al-
*795 Sharif, his grandson, has in his writings, as Moreno points out,¹
exhorted followers of the Order not to depart from the rational,
the chief aim of the Sanusiya being to make a man a good
Muslim rather than a good mystic. Mysticism is something
added to orthodox faith and morals, not a substitute for them.

*795 It is for this reason that, as Sayyid Ahmad insists, perfection
787 is to be sought through spiritual identification with the Prophet
Muhammad rather than with God, at any rate for ordinary
people. This is to be attained by contemplation of the essence
of the Prophet and by an inner knowledge of him through
constant imitation of his actions, attention to his words, and
blessing him. The contemplation should be so intense that
veneration of the Prophet pervades the adept till at last he hears
only his name and has only his form before the eyes of the intel-
lect. Then the Prophet becomes his sole guide and counsellor.

*795 As this is not a treatise on Sufism there is no need to give
further details about the mystical content of the Sanusiya. It
should, however, be stressed that the rigorous orthodoxy of the
Order, and especially its insistence on conformity to the original
teachings of the Prophet, meant that the faith and morals which
the Prophet preached to the Bedouin of his day, and which they
accepted, were equally suited to the Bedouin of Cyrenaica, who
in all essentials were leading, and still lead, a life like to that of
the Bedouin in Arabia in the seventh century. In particular,

[793] the refusal of the Grand Sanusi to allow the more demonstrative
forms of ecstasy, which, together with lack of organization and
[786] direction, characterize so many of the Sufi Orders of North
[157] Africa, enabled the Bedouin to adopt his teachings and ritual,
for Bedouin are an undemonstrative people and it is difficult to
imagine them piercing their cheeks with skewers, eating glass,

[113]

¹ M. M. Moreno, *Brevi Nozioni d'Islam*, 1927, p. 58.

ORIGIN AND EXPANSION OF THE SANUSIYA

praise of which many poems have been written by Brothers of the Order. The Grand Sanusi forbade music, dancing, and singing in the recitations of the Order, but in this he was at one with all the official spokesmen of Islam. Most reformist movements in Islam tend towards asceticism.

Far from being extreme ascetics, however, the Sanusi Brothers eat and dress well, even using scent, and are amiable and merry companions. The Tunisian scholar and traveller Muhammad 'Uthman al-Hashaishi, who travelled in 1896 via Malta, Tripoli, and Benghazi to Kufra to visit al-Sayyid al-Mahdi and met the leading Brothers of the time, remarks that 'they are fond of diversions, honest jesting. I have visited many of their zawiyas and I have made the acquaintance of many of their notables; I have seen only cheerful and smiling faces, welcoming me with benevolence and kindness. May God reward them!'¹

The Grand Sanusi discouraged the trappings of poverty by his example, his exhortations, and his insistence on the Brothers being self-supporting. Although the Heads of the Sanusiya Order, like the Wahhabi leaders, encouraged settlement on the land, they can hardly have hoped to have greatly influenced the Bedouin to this end; but they insisted on the lodges of the Order supporting themselves by agriculture supplemented by stock-raising, and thereby took a stand against *ittikal*, the dependence for livelihood on alms and not on labour which some mendicant Orders have advocated.

The Order has always been, in fact, conventional as well as orthodox. In its early period it was essentially a missionary Order with the limited aim of bringing by peaceful persuasion the Bedouin Arabs and the peoples of the Sahara and the Sudan to a fuller understanding of the beliefs and morals of Islam, while giving them at the same time the blessings of civilization: justice, peace, trade, and education. Its principles were, as Shaikh Muhammad 'Uthman says, simply 'to do good and avoid evil'.²

The accusation of fanaticism is not borne out by either the character of the Bedouin adherents of the Order or by its actions.

¹ Mohammed ben Otsmane el-Hachaichi, *Voyage au Pays des Senoussia à travers La Tripolitaine et les Pays Touareg*, 1912, p. 128 (1st ed., 1903).

² Ibid., p. 86.

THE SANUSIYA AND THE TRIBES

63

absolutely obligatory and sinful to omit. I very much doubt whether many of the Bedouin know how to pray in the prescribed manner. As I have mentioned earlier, the Bedouin used to give alms to their zawiyas and in doing so they carried out one of the five major duties of a Muslim, but they regarded these alms as charity rather than legal dues. I have never met an ordinary Bedouin who had been to Mecca, or who even contemplated going there. Nevertheless, however lax they may be in other things, all Cyrenaican Bedouin keep the fast of Ramadan, and in this annual fast is summed up for them, more than in anything else, the obligations and privileges of Islam and its unity and strength. Moreover, although they are negligent Muslims themselves they respect piety in others. Brothers of the Sanusiya Order and religious men in general ought to pray regularly. That is their business and it is very necessary for the well-being of the community and worthy of liberal support, but the Bedouin is an unlettered man, a shepherd, and a warrior, and he has his own affairs to see to. Perhaps the Bedouin make up for their shortcomings by their enthusiasm for the *jihad*, holy war against unbelievers. They consider that they have fulfilled their obligation under this head in ample measure by their long and courageous fight, formally declared a holy war by the Caliph of Islam, against the Italians, the French, and the British. A Bedouin once said to me when I remarked how rarely I had seen Bedouin at prayer: '*nasum wa najhad*', '(but) we fast and we wage holy war'.

It must also be said that it would be an error to suppose that Islam had not, long before the time of the Grand Sanusi, strongly affected the character and custom of the Sulaimid Bedouin. This question, which is far from simple, need not be discussed in the present account and it is only necessary to note that the Bedouin assume that their customs are Muslim customs. It would also be a questionable judgement to assert that the Bedouin of Cyrenaica are not religious because they do not pay the same attention to outward ritual as do townspeople and peasants, for piety and holiness, as we have often been admonished, are not the same. The Bedouin certainly have a profound faith in God and trust in the destiny He has prepared for them and this faith and trust enhance that superb dignity